SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

619 THE social organization of the Blackfeet is very simple. The three tribes acknowledged a blood relationship with each other, and, while distinct, still considered themselves a nation. In this confederation, it was understood that there [579] should be no war against each other. However, between 1860 and 1870, when the whiskey trade was in its height, [578] the three tribes were several times at swords' points on account of drunken brawls. Once, about sixty or seventy years ago, the Bloods and Piegans had a quarrel so serious that men were killed on both sides and horses stolen; yet this was hardly a real war, for only a part of each tribe was involved, and the trouble was not of long duration.

614 Each one of the Blackfoot tribes is subdivided into gentes, a gens being a body of consanguineal kindred in the male line. It is noteworthy that the Blackfeet, although Algonquins, have this system of subdivision, and it may be that among them the gentes are of comparatively recent date. No special duties are assigned to any one gens, nor has any gens, so far as I know, any special "medicine" or "totem."

Below is a list of the gentes of each tribe.

BLACKFEET (*Sik'-si-kau*)

Gentes:

Puh-ksi-nah'-mah-yiks	Flat Bows.
Mo-tah'-tos-iks	Many Medicines.
Siks-in'-o-kaks	Black Elks.
E'-mi-tah-pahk-sai-yiks	Dogs Naked.
Sai'-yiks	Liars.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6, Blackfoot NF6

622 665 [177] in accepting the Birch Creek boundary and the land sales of the eighties and nineties, which further reduced the size of the reservation. One old Indian complained bitterly, "White Calf would sell anything to keep his position as principal chief." Another stated, "If White Calf was still living we would probably all be living on top of Chief Mountain."

622 It is only fair to say that however much Three Suns may have "bucked the government" in other matters, his name also appears on the land agreements. Three Suns died in the late winter of 1896. White Calf, the last head chief of the South Piegan Indians, died on January 29, 1903, while on a visit to "the Great White Father" in Washington. His body was returned to the reservation and buried on top of a hill overlooking his home on Cut Bank Creek. Undoubtedly, both White Calf and Three Suns

622 665 177 were intelligent and able men. They symbolized the conflict in the minds and hearts of all the Indians during that difficult period of readjustment to a new way of life which began before the buffalo were gone and has continued for some to the present day. Co-operative White Calf could see things as the whites presented them to him. He was willing to accept new conditions and try new ways. Conservative Three Suns was skeptical, suspicious of white men's motives. He would have preferred the traditional ways. To impatient administrators, he was an obstructionist because he questioned their plans for his people. In most writings on the Blackfoot Indians of this period, White Calf is pictured as the heroic and wise chief. Three Suns is virtually ignored.

578 The rivalry between these two leaders survived their deaths in the form of jealousy and a certain amount of ill feeling between those Piegans living on the north side of the reservation, White Calf's section, and those dwelling on the south side, where Three Suns lived.

625 Both the agent and the chiefs received helpful assistance in preserving law and order when an Indian police force was organized on October 1, 1878. This new force was composed of Indians selected on the basis of their courage and reliability. They

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Piegan chief.[129] Although this evidence is scanty it certainly is suggestive of an increase in the size of herds. What is most significant for our purposes is that by 1833, the time when the large markets for tanned robes in the States first developed, there already existed an accumulation of horses that made possible the ensuing expansion of polygyny. This expansion in turn perpetuated and intensified the social gradations that already existed, for men with large herds were the ones who could purchase many wives, and in the exchange thereby transform idle capital (surplus horses) into productive capital (women).

Following the growth of polygyny and the increasing importance of the bride price in horses we find that the age at which marriages occurred was also altered. There was a tendency for girls to marry at a younger age and for men to marry at a later age. In 1787 Thompson reported that girls usually married between sixteen and eighteen, and men at twenty-two or somewhat later.[130] In 1885, Rev. Wilson's informants told him that girls normally married at twelve.[131] Our own informants, speaking of the period of the latter half of the nineteenth century, placed the age of marriage for girls between ten and sixteen and that of men at thirty-five, rarely at less. It is during this period that we get the first cases of child marriage. Fathers now wished to marry off their daughters as early as possible in order to realize the bride price. On the other hand, men were not chosen as sons-in-law until they had accumulated sufficient property and had acquired a good reputation as a warrior or hunter.

The increase in the number of wives brought greater friction within the household. The effect of the sororate in eliminating hostilities diminished and at the same time the contrasts between the status of upper and lower wives were intensified. The native term for a wife lower than third or fourth means slave wife, which accurately describes their status. Lower wives performed the most difficult tasks, rarely put up Sun Dances, were most often beaten and most often suspected of adultery.

Social Organization

The fur trade stimulated inter-tribal intercourse. Tribes which had little contact with each other met at trading posts with the result of much borrowing and spreading of culture elements. A case in point is the borrowing of age grade societies by the Blackfoot from some of the village tribes to the south.

The historical material offers little in the way of positive evidence for the

[129] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[130] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[131] Wilson, *Report of the Fifty-Seventh Meeting of the British Assoc. for the Adv. of Science*, Sept. 1885, p. 192.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

has been recorded. But it is evident from the data at hand that the similarities were great and the differences superficial. If a general equivalence in the earlier systems is tentatively accepted, present data for the Blood indicate deviational tendencies not unlike those exhibited by the North Blackfoot. It would seem that the abolition of polygamy and the consequent weakening of the sororate have been largely responsible for recent changes in kinship organization in both tribes. However, behavior patterns on the two reserves still show certain marked differences. They reflect not only changes in kinship organization, but the total historical experience of each group.

In this monograph, Blackfoot, and more specifically Blood society, is designated as competitive. The mixed nature of all societies is obvious, and where classification depends on the weighing of numerous complex factors, correct descriptive categories are frequently difficult to determine. The Pueblo masses may show a high degree of cooperation in their agricultural activities, but such statements as Benavides' regarding the continual factional strife between "warriors and sorcerers,"[5] even if exaggerated as some anthropologists believe, serve to explain, at least in part, the recent struggles for power within the priesthoods at Cochiti, Isleta, and Santa Ana.[6] In our own society, great insistence is placed on teamwork in the industrial plant and in the fighting machine, but there can be little doubt that most of our efforts are directed toward "seeking and endeavoring to gain what another is endeavoring to gain at the same time."[7]

For some, the situation among the Blood may seem less transparent, but close study of the facts reveals predominantly competitive trends. In the pre-reserve period, hunting the buffalo demanded a high degree of cooperation, but skins were variously and by no means equitably distributed. In warfare, competition was flagrant, rivalrous attitudes overtly and blatantly expressed. In the reserve period, economic change was comparatively frequent and radical. The distribution of land and cattle in 1877 for the asking, and of land again in 1910 and for several years thereafter, changed the quality of competition.[8] But during these sixty years, as in the preceding decades, goals remained competitive, behavior individualistic, hostility overt. In the new administrative situation, the Blood preserved, perhaps

[5] *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630*, p. 30 ff.

[6] Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, for Cochiti, note Vol. 1, p. 168, for Isleta, note Vol. 2, p. 926; for Santa Ana, see Leslie A. White, *The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico*, pp. 95, 115 ff.

[7] Margaret Mead, *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*, Introduction, p. 8.

[8] For a better understanding of the various factors involved in evaluating competitive trends, I am particularly indebted to Dr. K. A. Wittfogel.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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578 most completely, those mechanisms of aggression that characterized the
181 Blackfoot tribes in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

178 ## II. Blackfoot Economy and Interpersonal Relations in the Buffalo Period

Buffalo Hunters and Horse Raiders

101 The Blood, Piegan, and Siksika[9] comprise the Blackfoot complex. In no
175 sense were they a confederation,[10] but they all spoke an Algonquian lan-
[619] guage and admitted ties of blood.[11] They received their first horses from the
Shoshone around 1730,[12] and at about this same time their firearms from the
[197] Cree.[13] As early as 1750, they were on the prairies, east of the foothills of the
Rockies from the upper branches of the Missouri River to the North Sas-
[439] katchewan.[14] In 1754, when Hendry, the first white man to visit them, tried
[177] to induce their warriors to follow him eastward and hunt the beaver, they showed little inclination to leave their buffalo plains for uncertain wood-lands and the trading posts of the fur companies.[15] Nineteen years later, Cocking was equally unsuccessful.[16] By the end of the century, however, the centers of trade had closed in upon the Blackfoot country, and the Blackfoot tribes came into direct contact with these outposts of white civilization.

621 The Blackfoot were buffalo hunters and horse raiders. They traveled in
628 bands, loose organizations varying in size, whose members were frequently close relatives,[17] but whose essential purposes were economic and political.[18] One informant has said, "A man may go into another band and live there if he choose, nothing much being said about it. Sometimes a man may not like the chief of his band and so go to another. . . . . Bands may split in dissen-
[221] sion, one part joining another or forming a new one."[19] In winter, the bands

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[9] The Piegan are now divided into Northern and Southern Piegan. The Siksika are otherwise known as the Northern Blackfoot. The tribes are confined to four reservations, one in the United States (Montana), the others in Alberta, Canada.

[10] Clark Wissler, *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians*, p. 22. Cf. also Oscar Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 50, who argues that the Blackfoot "in pre-horse times. . .at least for war purposes. . .were unified under a central leader."

[11] Wissler, *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians*, p. 7.

[12] Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 11.

[13] *Idem.*

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 14 and map on p. 13.

[15] Anthony Hendry, *York Factory to the Blackfoot Country, the Journal of Anthony Hendry, 1754–55*, p. 338. (See also Henday.)

[16] Matthew Cocking, *Matthew Cocking's Journal, 1772–1773*, p. 110.

[17] Wissler, *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians*, pp. 18, 19, 26.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[19] *Ibid.*, footnote p. 19.

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554 556 [157] [622] frequently . . . they [the young men] are great drones, lounging in the village, participating neither in the war nor the chase. . . ."[47] Obviously, these "drones" trusted to their fathers' wealth to bring them positions of respect—and this trust was not misplaced. Bravery and war deeds remained an asset to leadership, but among the Blackfoot, "great deeds in social and ceremonial life would alone elevate one to the status of headman."[48]

556 555 Blackfoot society offered considerable opportunity for vertical mobility. Disease, accidents of climate, misfortunes of gambling might reduce and, at times, even wipe out large herds, but the mere fact that great numbers of horses could be accumulated and held for a considerable period led to certain advantage. Manipulation through purchase, give-aways, and other forms of ostentatious display in no way destroyed this advantage. Shrewdly exercised, they built up great prestige and reliable support.[49]

Rivalry and Violence

578 182 621 Cooperative mechanisms, emphasizing interpersonal responsibilities both within the family and within the larger social group (band and men's societies) counteracted to some degree the competitive trends, but these trends continued nevertheless to dominate Blackfoot life. Rivalry for recognition and power was so keen that it "often led to assassination and other dark deeds."[50] As early as 1808, Alexander Henry notes with considerable feeling the difficulties of the traders in dealing with the Blackfoot, but he leaves no doubt that within the tribes, Blackfoot behavior was equally unpredictable and destructive to peaceful relations. Regarding the Piegan, he wrote:

621 578 181 [834] [837]

> They have frequent quarrels which may end in bloodshed or death; for though they are lavish in offering their women to the whites. . .they are exceedingly jealous among themselves. These quarrels, however, seldom last long, nor do they affect the whole tribe; the woman being killed, reconciliation is immediate and all are friends again.[51]

Other Blackfoot tribes were certainly no better:

> The Cold Band are notoriously a set of audacious villains. The Blood are still worse, always inclined to mischief and murder.[52]

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[47] Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 272. Bradley commenced writing down his impressions in 1871 when he was stationed at frontier army posts, most particularly Fort Benton and Fort Shaw, and continued to do so until his death in 1877. (*Ibid.*, p. 7.)

[48] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 23. It is possible that this was a development of the late buffalo period.

[49] *Idem.*

[50] *Idem.*

[51] Alexander Henry and David Thompson, *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 722. Cf. also Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

[52] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

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Later he comments: 181

The Bloods in general bear fully as bad a reputation as the Fall Indians [atsina] they are equally vicious, bloodthirsty, and turbulent, but, I believe, not so brave.[45] 578

In still another passage he writes:

The Slaves[46]. . .are much given to gusts of passion; a mere trifle irritates them and makes a commotion which a stranger would suppose must result in bloodshed. But the matter is soon adjusted, and their passion quickly subsides.[47]

In 1832, Maximilian wrote of these irascible people:

. . .they are said. . .to be more passionate than other nations. Duels sometimes take place and vengeance is executed in most cases. If an Indian is killed his relations avenge themselves, if possible, on the murderer, but if they have no opportunity to do this, they take revenge on the first member of his family they meet with; often, however, their vengeance is bought off with some articles of value.[48] [682] [627]

James H. Bradley, whose closest contacts with the Blackfoot occurred after Baker's massacre in January 1870,[49] writes more temperately of them: 152 181

In character they were good-humored, candid and truthful, honest among themselves but less so with strangers, talkative, fond of story-telling, easily excited to laughter, less inclined to conceal the emotions than most Indians, friendly to their fellows, and affectionate to their wives and children.[50] [157]

But some few paragraphs later he also comments on their severe punishment of adultery[51] and on the devastating feuds that might follow a murder, "even if it could be shown that the killing were ever so accidental."[52] 682 684

So noticeable was their emotional instability, that a member of another Indian tribe, the Cree, stated in a recently published text, "This was another of the Blackfoot's ways,—that he changed his mind exceedingly fast, when but now he had been angry."[53] 181 157

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[45] *Ibid.*, p. 736.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 523. In a footnote, the editor comments, "In so considering them, Henry uses 'Slave' in an unusual sense, which however, may be attached to the Blackfeet, Bloods, and Piegans in his time. The Slaves properly so called belong to an entirely different linguistic family, namely, the Athapascan, and to the Northern group or division of that stock." [101]

[47] *Idem.*

[48] Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

[49] Bradley, *Blackfoot War with the Whites*, p. 254.

[50] Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 270.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

[53] Bloomfield, *Cree Texts*, p. 139.

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181 579 157 [684] [628] Two records from Henry's Journal illustrate Blackfoot violence and aggressiveness:

> They (Blood) informed us of a quarrel between Painted Feathers band and the Cold band caused by a woman who had been debauched by the latter. . .four of the party were wounded, and the woman shot in the leg.[43]

[682] He [a Blackfoot] was a notorious scoundrel, who had murdered three of his own countrymen.[44]

[684] [837] And some twenty years later, Maximilian learns from an Indian whom he meets:

> . . .that an Indian had run away with his sister, the wife of a third person, and they had ridden out to look for him in order to shoot him.[45]

And in another passage, he states:

[682] He (White Buffalo) had lately shot his sister, because she kept up an intercourse with a man against whom he had advised her. A chief of the Blackfeet with whom he had a quarrel shot him through the thigh; he, however, did not lose his presence of mind, and killed his enemy, notwithstanding his wound.[46]

578 157 682 The remaining cases, taken from winter counts and recent anthropological field notes, deal specifically with the subjects of this paper, "the vicious . . . and turbulent" Blood:

> South of the Missouri, the Blood fought among themselves. . . .[47]

> In the summer the Blood camped at Yellow Mountains and fought among themselves. Calf Shirt killed some of his own men.[48]

[628] Two Blood chiefs who had trouble with one another, killed each other, Hind Bull and Fish Child.[49]

> Shot Bull Back Fat, a Blood, killed another Blood, Eagle Tail Feather Chief.[50]

[621] Big Snake was the Chief of Many-Children Band. He had many wives and children and the strong men in his band were envious of him. Mad Wolf tried to kill him.

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[43] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 572.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 543.
[45] Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 268.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 272.
[47] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 46. From Elk Horn's winter count, some time around the year 1855.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 49. From Big Brave's winter count, presumably a few years later.
[49] From the winter count of Percy Creighton, for the year 1859.
[50] *Ibid.*, for the year 1868.

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A chief of the Followers-of-the-Buffalo Band gave Big Snake a fast buffalo horse and in return Big Snake presented him with a fine weasel tail suit. The Buffalo chief soon regretted his generosity and wished to recover his gift. Accompanied by his father, he entered Big Snake's tipi and demanded his horse. Big Snake shot and killed him. The father ran from the tipi. "No one tried to avenge his death because Big Snake was much stronger." 578 157 682 [431]

Many Pinto Horses, his brother, Packs His Tail, and Buffalo Chief were all handsome and wealthy. Buffalo Chief and Many Pinto Horses were drinking and quarreling. Each told of the grudge he bore the other. "Afterwards Buffalo Chief didn't feel good and moved off." 578 273

Some members in the Many-Children Band were envious of Packs His Tail because he was rich. One day, he visited their camp, and after considerable drinking on both sides, they took away his gun and killed him. When his brother, Many Pinto Horses, came to avenge his death the Many-Children shot him, too. [682]

The following are tales of feuding within the family of the wealthy and famous Blood chief, Red Crow, who signed the treaty in 1877 which established his tribe on its reserve: 578 621 [648]

When Red Crow was appointed head chief in 1877, his older brother, Sheep Old Man was greatly angered. He left his band and joined the Followers-of-the-Buffalo where he also had friends and relatives.

Sheep Old Man, his sister, Revenge Walker, and her husband, Running Bird, were camping with their followers at Calgary. Red Crow came in with some of his supporters. Two relatives, Many Dust, a band chief of the Hairy-Shirts, and Owns Center Painted Tipi, accused him of keeping property that rightfully belonged to his sister, Revenge Walker. The unwelcome visitors were ejected from his tipi, and Revenge Walker, unable to persuade her husband to accompany her—in fact he forthwith left her—went alone to her brother's tipi to demand her property. When Red Crow saw her approaching, he ran off. Revenge Walker consoled herself by killing some of his horses. Sheep Old Man then said, "Now we will have trouble. We had better move our tipis away from our relatives." [685]

At another time, Sheep Old Man, while drunk, shot his younger brother, Not Real Good, in the shoulder. Their sister, Revenge Walker, was so angered that she wanted to kill Sheep Old Man. As dawn came, Not Real Good, said, "Older sister, you have had trouble with our brother, Red Crow. Now you are having trouble with Sheep Old Man, our brother, also. Only you and I are together. We have other brothers but they may not like us because we have been having trouble with Red Crow and Sheep Old Man. They may stick to them. Running Bird, your husband, has left because of your quarrels. Marry the white trader. He may have good medicine and then I may get well. His sister answered, "I do not want to see you die. I will do as you advise, although I do not like to marry a white man. But then I might get even with Red Crow when he comes to trade." So she married Davis, the trader. [273] [539] [582]

When Red Crow heard that his sister had married, he brought some fine tanned dresses, shirts and twenty horses to her as a gift. He greeted his sister and asked her forgiveness. Revenge Walker said, "I was going to kill you, but I think so much of

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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578 621 our younger brother, Not Real Good, that I will do as he asks. But don't let things like this happen again. If they should, although I am a woman, I will do as I wish.

A last story is taken from Biele's notes:

[579] One night two brothers, relatives of Red Crow, visited him in his tipi. The chief was smoking and after his guests were seated, one on either side of him, he offered his pipe, the customary gesture of hospitality. The first brother refused to smoke. Signifying his anger, he pointed the stem at Red Crow. The other brother then rose, took aim and fired at the chief. The bullet missed him but hit his wife, Water Bird, in the shoulder. Red Crow then shot and killed his assailant while the second brother, though wounded, escaped into the darkness.

181 578 626 157 "Everyone," comments Henry, "that has lived a wicked life on earth, committed murder in his own nation, or been guilty of suicide, must pass by a different route to the Elysian fields."[70] But neither certainty of an uneasy immortality, nor cooperative mechanisms, nor informal pressures succeeded in outlawing intratribal killing among the competitive and violent Blood in the Buffalo days.[71] Nor did sixty years' confinement on a reservation, nor the threat of the white man's law fundamentally alter the personality structure developed in that early period.

III. Blood Economy and Social Change in the Reserve Period*

648 136 Two vital factors acted upon Blood society simultaneously. In 1877, Treaty No. 7 was signed with the Blackfoot tribes in Canada restricting them to a reserve, and in 1878, the winter count of a Blood reads, "This was the year the buffalo went out of sight."[72]

657 136 178 Both the Blood and the Canadian Government were fortunate in the

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[70] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

[71] Ruth Benedict in discussing Jules Henry's paper, *Some Cultural Determinants of Hostility in Pilaga Indian Children*, p. 120) writes: "The indication of cross-cultural studies is that minimal interpersonal hostility also is correlated with certain cultural institutions, political and economic, as well as forms of the family and methods of child rearing." Comparatively, for external threat as a cooperative mechanism, see Esther S. Goldfrank, *Historic Change and Social Character, a Study of Teton Dakota*, p. 78 ff., for informal pressures, see Karl L. Llewellyn and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Cheyenne Way*, Chapter 9.

127 * The years given in the footnotes in this section refer to the *Annual Reports on Indian Affairs* contained in the *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*. From 1873-1880, these are listed under the Department of the Interior; later reports were issued by the Department of Indian Affairs. From 1930 on, they appear separately.

128 All names used in this monograph, except those from published sources are fictitious.

[72] Percy Creighton's winter count.

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than we had intended to stay, and my father, knowing what would happen when we went away, would make it hard for us to go.

It is not surprising that a marriage of this kind, with the children maneuvering to remain in their respective privileged homes, and the fathers maneuvering for even the limited *minipoka* help, did not last long. This one broke up in a year and a half.

When the favorites remarried, pomp, ceremony and property exchange were usually omitted, as they were in second marriages throughout the tribe. Free from the pressure of parents, a man might select a wife from any stratum of society. Passion rather than property dictated the new choice.

The growing concentration of horse wealth made an unstable marriage situation even more precarious. Young men had great difficulty in obtaining a wife at all, for they could neither pay for nor support one. Such difficulty was not unknown in the older Blood society despite the excess of women over men. The established hunters and warriors (i.e., men who had horses or their equivalent in ceremonial prestige) had two, three, or more wives.[83] Fathers urged their young and attractive daughters, then as now, upon older and successful men. But while the time of marriage was late (many men were twenty-five and the sons of the poor frequently over thirty)[84] a young man still had some chance to rise on his own initiative and win recognition. In the early eighties, and for twenty years to follow, he suffered from all the old disadvantages of the polygamous society, and the new order offered him few satisfactory ways of exhibiting his worth. In 1882, it was reported, "there was very little crime. More trouble was caused by the stealing of women from each other. Women sold for horses. Only a few are rich enough to buy women now. Most of the young men who have no horses cannot get married, and therefore steal from someone rich in women."[85]

Nevertheless, a few ways remained for making a living. A man might work out for whites or become a scout or farmer in the government service, or if he preferred to follow Indian custom, he could seek a vision and become a shaman, although remunerative practice did not immediately follow. Or he might, and here the rewards were quicker, improve his position by marrying a rich women, often some ten or fifteen years his senior. A sufficiently ambitious man might combine all of them. John Many Rattles did.[86] Born in 1862, he reached adulthood when it was most difficult for young men to rise. He hired out to whites, became a government scout at thirty-three,

[83] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 526, "Many of them have six or seven wives."

[84] Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 40. Cf. also Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 272.

[85] 1883, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 176.

[86] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes, 1939.

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857 In the children's play camp, however, age-grades were frequently for-
571 gotten and boys and girls imitated the life of adults. Some chose to be
[561] husband and wife, others mother and child. Pointed Plume says,

Usually we had partners, but my older sister almost always played with me. I was her son. She thought it safest if she took care of me, because I was a *minípoka*.

[184] No such supervision was given a Ned Sloane. He frankly tells of his sex play with a little girl of five.

[556] The poorer children served the rich children much as the poorer adults served the rich adults. Sometimes this was a matter of free choice, a desire to be identified with a more fortunate child. Pointed Plume says,

Bird Shooter was not a *minípoka* but he liked to play with the favorite children. His father was related to my father. He had just enough money to keep going. Bird Shooter was a little younger than I. He used to stand at the stick and call the winner in the arrow game.

The service of others, however, was bought and paid for. Pointed Plume says,

One of our favorite pastimes was making horses out of mud. Neither I nor Buffalo Horn was particularly good at this and we tried to induce Big Bonnet, who was poor
[431] but a good sculptor, to play with us and make horses for us. At first he didn't care to, but I finally persuaded him to come to my house. My father gave him moccasins and and pair of pants and my mother fed him well, so he remained with us. He and I were the same age, about ten.

And this service was exacted once it had been bought. Pointed Plume says,

Big Bonnet used to play the arrow game with us. Arguments would arise as to
[431] who was the winner. Big Bonnet wanted his arrows back and would fight the others. If I and Buffalo Horn beat him up he would go home, but he had to come back the next day to play because he was paid for.

Poor boys tried to get even. Ned Sloane says,

When I was six, there was a favorite child who lived in our band and who wore a weasel skin charm which hung down his back. One day, one of the older boys grabbed
[578] the weasel skin and twisted it so that the cord almost choked the *minípoka*. He finally freed himself and went crying to his father. The gang broke up quickly. They were afraid when the father of the boy screamed at them the worst curse known to the Blood, "May you have an early death!"

657 SUMMARY.—These first seventeen years on the reservation saw the great-
178 est change in Blood society since the introduction of the horse. A people who had been nomadic, subsisted on buffalo, and raided their neighbors, both white and Indian, for horses that alone brought prestige and the possibility of social advance—these people were now settled within the

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fifth the number the Blood had boasted in their herding heyday.[143] The income from beef products, if not impressive, remained stable: since 1922, it has varied only within a few thousand dollars. Wheat, however, the mainstay of Blood economy, fluctuated seriously in the post-war period and again with the depressed markets of the early thirties and the extreme droughts that followed. From 1930 to 1932, the number of acres cultivated decreased 50 per cent; farm income dropped from the substantial level of $100,000[144] to a miserable $24,000;[145] and "the seasons of 1934–5–6 were in many ways the most discouraging to Indian farmers."[146] Many of them joined the herders on the relief rolls of the agency.

Not unlike the situation in our own West, land was being concentrated in the hands of the few. In 1939, Jim Belly Fat farmed 600 acres—income, $9000; Pointed Plume and his son George farmed 300 acres—income, $3000; another son, Harry farmed 100 acres—income $960.[147] From the first figure there was still deductible support for a sick brother's family and compensation for a helper, but the last two may be accepted as net.

The situation is beginning to tell and tensions over land are growing. The small acreages cultivated in the first years of the reserve did not vitally affect the general economy. The none too productive farms remained little more than homesteads. Nor did the substantial allotments of wheat lands in 1910 create any land shortage; all requests could be satisfied, and in the years that followed, the on-coming generation could also get land for the asking. Wissler, discussing the distribution of property at death, observes, "The older sons usually take the bulk, but must make some concessions to all concerned."[148] So little was land a problem in the early years of wheat farming that a system of ultimogeniture found acceptance:[149] it was customary to permit the youngest son, if he had helped farm his father's land, to inherit it in entirety, on the assumption that the older children had already been well taken care of. Today such expectancy is frequently unfulfilled.

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[143] 1930, Pt. 2, p. 64.

[144] Ibid., p. 72.

[145] 1932, Pt. 2, p. 42. Total income dropped from $150,000 to $82,000.

[146] 1937, p. 23.

[147] He had already "borrowed" 50 acres more to work the following year.

[148] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 26. Informants stated that in wealthy families mature sons were provided with horses and later with cattle. Yet at the time of the final distribution serious disputes arose between grown siblings over the disposition of the remainder share. If the children were minors, the property usually went to the dead man's brothers who were obviously then expected to look after them.

[149] Ultimogeniture, it would seem, can only operate in an agricultural society when there is no scarcity of cultivatable land. As land shortages developed, a number of European countries changed within historic time from a system of ultimo- to primogeniture.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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425 Easy access to good land is no longer possible, and the best of it has been allotted. A young and ambitious Blood must either turn again to wages, as indeed the sons of rich farmers have done, or if he is not content with the marginal land still available, he must wheedle an idle farm from a more [426] fortunate if less industrious tribesman. He may get it as a loan or on a rental [427] basis, but he is never certain how long he will be permitted to crop it. The more successful he is, the more eager the renter will be to reclaim his land [578] and try his hand at it again. Violent conflict and familial hostility frequently result.

556 184 CHANGING PRESTIGE FACTOR.—Distinctions between rich and poor are still drawn, and frequently these obscure expected behavior. The rich [606] daughter-in-law is served; the poor one does the work. The poor son-in-law is disparaged. Even the impoverished herder or unsuccessful farmer, in [581] memory of a better day, will storm when his daughter marries a poor orphan. A poor sister-in-law said of her rich one, "She always makes me [607] work for her at her house, but she never does anything when she visits me." A poor young wife who may make a simple and justified request will be sarcastically told, "Go home, you *minipoka*." The real "favorite" may exploit his childhood privilege in the face of little criticism even after he has reached adulthood.

593 937 577 556 184 The beautiful and discontented wife of a poor man may brazenly flaunt her affair with her rich lover, but the unhappy wife of a rich man will find some more dignified way of showing her dissatisfaction. When her husband philanders, she may refuse to cook his food; she may roll up in her own blanket and deny him his conjugal rights; she may leave him, or she may entertain his mistress, ply her with fine gifts, and receive the approbation of society "because she shows no jealousy."

[575] A chief or member of the Horn Society is also roundly applauded when he shows no jealousy; but the poor husband who sits by and silently witnesses the drunken love-making of his wife and her rich lover receives no [593] respect for his restraint. A spoiled and wealthy woman may forbid her [584] "favorite" the house; she may take his horses and disinherit him if she disapproves of his marriage. A woman less economically secure, even if she is known as "manly-hearted," may uphold the authority of her "favorite" at all cost, as the one sure means of maintaining family prestige.

557 The advantages of a good marriage are quickly recognized. A wealthy Pointed Plume will say, "All women chase a rich man." A poor William Curtis will say, "A man should marry his daughter to someone who can take care of her."

178 581 But the changing status of various groups within Blood society is strikingly revealed by an analysis of marriage trends. Thirty years ago marriages still followed the earlier pattern. The wealthy cattle men continued

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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If the manly-hearted woman is regarded as a product of established and traditional wealth, "Miss Wells' girls" illustrate the possibility for mobility within the more recent society. Half-breeds, most of them, and without inher ted property, these "girls," now in their late forties, were sent to school at an early age and only rarely spent their holidays with their Indian relatives. When other children returned to their parents, this unwanted group went off with their teacher to a summer camp where they worked and experimented in cooperative living. Miss Wells understood her girls. She mothered them and imbued them with enthusiasm for white ways. They, in turn, loved and respected her. Today these "girls" are the most progressive women of their generation—and the most ambitious. Several assisted at the school after "graduation." One earned her living as a dressmaker in a white community. Later she returned to become the first and only independent woman farmer on the reserve. It is to this group that the up-and-coming wheat farmers, mostly half-breeds themselves, have looked for wives. These farmers are now the "newly rich," and two of them have been elected band chiefs.

Many women enjoy independent earnings, but these have never been great enough to radically affect their social status. Now, as in the past, vertical mobility is achieved through advantageous marriage. Marriage, however, plays a lesser rôle in the life of the woman of wealth. A union with the son of a rich family naturally cements her position; but a union with a poor man does not, ipso facto, lower it. On the contrary, her property can be used to enhance his earning power and prestige. If he is industrious, both will gain; if he proves unsatisfactory, she can cast him off and with little difficulty find a more deserving mate. Few women, however, have much property. Most of them, despite the privileges they enjoy, shine in reflected glory in this dominantly masculine society. In childhood, their status depends upon their fathers' status, in adulthood, upon their husbands'. Significantly, and in contrast to feminist practice in the Pueblos, a Blood woman is always known after marriage by her husband's name.

JEALOUSY.—While this male dominance is indisputable, it gives small comfort to the man on the reserve, for jealousy is one of the most disruptive forces in Blood human relations. The woman is still considered a form of property, property that is as necessary to success today as it was in the polygamous past. Then the younger wives were known as "uncertain wives," and lapses in matrimonial duty received summary and harsh treatment. Writing in 1832, Maximilian comments, "They generally punish infidelity in their wives very severely, cutting off their noses in such cases. . . . When ten or twelve tents were together, we were sure to see six or seven women mutilated in this manner. . . . There have been frequent instances of a husband immediately killing his wife, when she had had intercourse with

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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175 another."[187] More leniency was shown to the partner in sin. Maximilian
684 continues, "Often he avenges himself on the paramour, takes away his horse or other valuable property, to which he must submit quietly."[188]
684 Today infidelity, or suspicion of it, are also severely punished. Beatings are frequent; one old lady still carefully conceals her mutilated face behind her shawl; and Big Head, recently released from prison, killed his wife because rumors of her misconduct had reached him during his confinement.[189]

593 Absence from home is perhaps the greatest threat to a man's marital peace.
937 His present fears echo attitudes of the past, grounded in an economy that made more or less long separations between husband and wife inevitable. The small raiding or hunting parties, which might include the husband, left plenty of men available for romance. Today, although life is more sedentary, dwellings are isolated. A few hours in the field, a trip to town, are enough to kindle the flame. But it is the jail sentence, that frequent experience, which most nearly approximates the extended absences of a former time. Legal protection from a surprise return adds to the safety of wifely adventure; it also intensifies the fears of the ever-suspicious husband.

593 Some few women are notoriously jealous of their husbands, but primarily
152 it is the men who exhibit the greatest sexual insecurity. A man who shows
578 no jealousy is considered brave; yet a young mother eager to see her son of
[577] six become a good fighter will proudly encourage him when he shakes his fist in fury at an old medicine man whom he considers his "rival." From
[865] earliest babyhood, a child is exposed to the violent quarrels of his parents. He hears his mother's virtue assailed; he sees his father beat her for misbehavior. Against such a background and such conditioning, traditionally
[181] desirable attitudes are achieved with difficulty. In this society, jealousy has become obsessional; even chiefs find it difficult to act within the prescribed pattern, and serious lapses are not unknown.

593 Few men trust their wives. A seemingly contented husband of twenty
578 years will, at the first sign of anger, hurl accusations of infidelity at his
152 mate. One husband refuses to permit his wife to remove her shawl in her own
831 house for fear she will succumb to the casual advances of some passerby. Another will suspect his wife of indiscretions while he is busy not one hundred yards away; still another will insist that his wife ride a horse at his side
[575] (an unwomanly occupation) so he can keep her within sight. Some will refuse to enter the Horn Society, because they feel unable to suppress their jealousy, as they are expected to do during their term of membership. A man will quickly, and often with little reason, accuse a brother of being his
[572] wife's lover. "You may joke," they say, "with your *taka*'s wife, but if you

[187] Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 253.
[188] *Idem*.
[189] Letter to Harry D. Biele in September, 1939.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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joke with your brother's, it means you are in earnest." The only Blood confined to the insane asylum, whose case was not complicated by physical causes, attempted to murder his wife because he believed she was having intercourse with a ghost. Many a husband, approaching his end, threatens his mate with death, for only when she accompanies him on his final journey can he be sure that in the next world he alone will possess her.

Husbands, who need proof of good behavior and who can afford to pay for it, may insist that their wives "vow the tongues"[180] or put up the Sun Lodge, for only those who are chaste before and faithful after marriage can do so with impunity. Sometimes, however, the pressure may be so great, that a woman must take a chance. Urged by her husband who remained unconvinced concerning her virginity at marriage, Weasel Girl distributed the tongues at the Sun Dance. Her husband's uncle, noting that she failed to mention the names of any men she had rebuffed, suspected her avowal, and threw his piece of meat to a dog at his side. Later that evening, this dog was shot while making off with a chicken. His alertness and caution had saved him, the uncle was certain, from a sure and untimely death. That Weasel Girl, herself, only lived three years longer was further evidence that she had lied.

Suspicion is not always without cause, as it may well have been in this instance. The most casual encounter, the social dances in the dance hall, even the Sun Dance, offer innumerable opportunities for illicit adventures, and these are not missed. Many a husband has found his wife with her lover. But so obsessed are they by their suspicions, that every possibility of adultery immediately becomes a fact.

Informal wife-lending among the Blood is inconceivable whether to a casual friend[181] or a life-long "*taka*." Yet this act which cannot be tolerated in daily living, is ritually sanctioned when the sorcery roots are purchased by members in the Horn Society.[182] At this time, the wife of the buyer deposits her clothes in her husband's lap. Protected by a buffalo robe, she is taken to the tipi of the seller and ceremonially painted. She then "goes

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[180] Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, p. 234 ff.

[181] Henry in his Journal (vol. 2, p. 526) states that the Blackfoot were a "nuisance in offering women." Wissler (*Social Life*, p. 10) observes that he believes these women were captives.

[182] Among the neighboring Cree the opposite situation existed. They practised informal wife exchange. D. G. Mandelbaum (*The Plains Cree*, p. 246) writes: "This relationship reflected considerable honor upon the participants, for only the most stout-hearted men could become intimate companions of their wives' paramours." But in a ceremony called Sitting Up Until Morning (*ibid.*, p. 228) although the "warriors of one society issued invitations to the wives or daughters of the members of other societies" and "at dawn, the men washed and painted the women's faces,

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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at least two unions before she settled down with the youngest son of a wealthy chief. 593 837

But even a long interlude of adaptation may end in abandonment. A Bob Double Man still believes in loving and leaving; a Pointed Plume, after an alliance of twenty-two years, again sows his wild oats; a Henry Dennis deserts his wife and seven young children for a younger and handsomer woman; and a Mrs. John White Bull changes partners at will, returning unconcernedly to a cast-off husband when a new one proves unsatisfactory. 581

Many, however, stick it through; but within the frame of a monogamous marriage, they are able to reëstablish the polygamous past with considerable success. Not infrequently a woman, whose husband is safely behind prison bars for drunkenness or cattle stealing or assault, will spend the time of waiting with an "interested" and hospitable relative. Her position in his household is not unlike that of the "second wife" in an earlier day. She may, now as then, give needed domestic aid, but more often she remains a demanding and quarrelsome interloper fighting the "legal" wife for the husband's favor. 593 837 595 178 [578]

When a more stable relationship is sought without disturbing the formal bonds of marriage, a mistress's husband may also be invited into the home as farm worker or cattle hand. He watches his arrogant employer delight his wife with gifts and make love to her in drunken orgies. To him, dignified silence at these spectacles establishes his bravery; to them, he remains a weakling to be ignored and laughed at. 593 837 [577]

Most often, however, separation, either permanent or temporary, is the ready answer to incompatibility. From the standpoint of familial stability, the latter may well be the more devastating. One detailed description of alternating breaks and reunions follows: 586

In the four months that Pointed Plume was living with his "new wife" Laura and her baby daughter, they separated as many times. Twenty years his junior, small, compact, but looking his contemporary, she industriously prepared his meals, jerked the meat, made pemmican, preserved the fruits, and did the family washing. A neighbor said, "Pointed Plume's new wife is a good worker. She likes to please the old man. She does everything for him." But another commented, "They are not getting on very well. Laura's first marriage with Big Shield broke up because she was so jealous; her marriage with Tom Bacon broke up for the same reason. Now after three months she is accusing White Plume of running with other women. She even suspects him when he is paid to drive a man and his wife to town in his car." The neighbor spoke from intimate knowledge. After quarreling with her husband, Laura had been set down along the roadside. On reaching Cardston she rushed to the parked car, and shouted at her astonished neighbor who was sitting there alone, "Pointed Plume and your wife are sweet- 593 [586] [577] [586] [152] 593 586 152 578

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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593 586 152 578 hearts." After this public exhibition, she jumped into the front seat, quietly to await her mate's return. When Pointed Plume saw her there, he climbed in beside her, and conforming to Blackfoot custom in crises, "said nothing." The friend, however, made his own deductions. "They won't stay together long," he observed to his wife.

Nor did they. Several weeks afterwards, coat-tails flying in the early morning breeze, swinging a valise and preceded by his two small granddaughters who had been staying with him, White Plume hurried down the gully to a relative's house. In his tent sat Laura, badly beaten and bruised. "Pointed Plume," she said, "is a very *jalose* man. Even if he is rich, I do not want to stay with him." The day before, Joe Curtis, just separated from his young wife and on his way to visit his mother, had passed Laura's tent. She emphatically denied that he had entered, but her protestations did nothing to allay her husband's suspicions. He took the usual painful measures.

When Laura and her daughter were finally set down at her relatives, Frank Newall who was working outside just looked up and "said nothing." It was all in a day's work to have a woman and child dropped on your doorstep before ten in the morning.

A few days later she was back. Again she was beaten and left. Again she returned, this time beautifully dressed and bedecked with jewelry. Apparently, she had made a new decision: it was good to live with a rich man, even if he were "*jalose*."

It may be that this is an extreme case, that Pointed Plume and Laura were both unusually suspicious, that Pointed Plume was particularly irascible and violent. But they were not the only ones among our friends who settled matrimonial difficulties during our stay by separation and, at times, reunion.

Marion Curtis was deposited one night at her parents' house by an angry husband. It was whispered that he had found her standing compromisingly close to his farm hand. A week later, after a consoling interlude at a rodeo, he returned. Without further explanation, Marion announced that she was leaving with him that night.

The seemingly happy marriage of Joe Duck-Bill suddenly went on the rocks. So did that of a neighbor's son. A good friend confided her desire to leave her ailing husband. He volunteered that in years past she had done so more than once.

593 578 How basic a security can develop in such a turbulent atmosphere is difficult to determine. But despite frequent quarrels and separations, despite a limited emphasis on such socially desirable virtues as cooperativeness, mutual trust and loyalty, marriages of ten, fifteen, and twenty years dura-

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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tion are not uncommon. It may be that a quick adaptability when the game is worth the candle assures a reasonable stability in this brittle society.

Children and Adults

Quoting Harmon in his Journal, Henry writes: "To see a house full of drunken Indians, consisting of men, women, and children, is a most unpleasant sight, for in that condition they often wrangle, pull each other by the hair, and fight. At some times ten or twelve, of both sexes, may be seen fighting each other promiscuously, until at last, they all fall on the floor. . . . To add to this uproar, a number of children, some on their mother's shoulders, and others running about and taking hold of their clothes, are constantly bawling, the elder ones, through fear that their parents may be stabbed, or that some misfortune may befall them in the fray."[196]

In 1939, we were the unwilling observers of a no less disturbing scene. Early on a clear moonlight night in August, loud shouts rent the air. Silhouetted against the canvas of the only tent in view, were the struggling figures of two men, the brothers Pointed Plume. Since their father's separation from his wife of more than twenty years, their loyalties had been engaged on opposite sides. Argument between them was frequent. This time, the fight, abetted by drink, grew wild and noisy. Pushing through the flap, the brothers tumbled into the open. The tug-of-war continued. Someone tried to start the car; doors banged; glass crashed. The young mothers holding tightly to their babes cried out; the older children shrieked in terror. The fight continued, this time again inside the tent. Finally, physical restraint (one brother was tied up with the able assistance of a brother-in-law) and exhaustion brought peace shortly after midnight.

By morning the car was gone. At seven, the little Pointed Plume girls, nine, and eleven, were industriously and silently removing broken glass, the only evidence of the previous night's hostilities. At eight, the family went off to the river for a quiet picnic.

In many respects, present-day conditions differ radically from those of Harmon's time: agriculture and herding have replaced hunting and food-gathering; living is sedentary and dwellings are scattered. Yet the basic individualism and unpredictable tempers that characterized the Blood a century and a half ago are still apparent today. And children are still exposed to conflict and violence.

Two young daughters of this same family were present when their grandfather beat up his new wife; his adopted "favorite" had witnessed his domestic differences with his old one. Several youngsters stood beside us

[196] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, footnote 21, Vol. 2, p. 575.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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593 578 while their great-aunt struck their father with a tent-pin when he ordered her off his land. They heard their mother accuse her near-relative of sexual indiscretions; they joined their usually mild grandmother as she threw stones at her sister-in-law's departing car.

152 593 There can be little doubt that children are sensitive to such violent exhibitions, but their reactions vary considerably from situation to situation and from child to child. They may stand by seemingly unmoved, or they may join the fray with considerable enjoyment. They may shriek in fear, as the Pointed Plume children did the night their father and his brother fought so furiously. They may cry continuously, as the Dennis children did at school, because their parents' quarrels had frightened them [115] so that they didn't want to return home while their father was there. Annie Curtis, a dignified informant of thirteen, gave it as her considered opinion that "girls minded their parents' quarrels more than boys."

857 858 This may well be so. Training and social sanctions make it easy for the boy to escape an uncongenial home situation. At an early age he learns to ride a horse, at ten he is expected to help his father on the range or in the field. His frequent absences from home cause little comment. Two independent males, one eight, one eleven, laughed at us when we suggested that they tell their mother we were taking them for a swim. Girls' work, on the other hand, ties them to the house. They tend their little brothers and sisters; they learn to cook, to sew, to do beadwork. Only a few have the hardihood to face the certain disapproval that descends upon them when [593] they stay out over night, even at a relative's. Bound to their homes by work [578] and convention, they are more exposed than their young brothers to parental quarrels. They may see themselves not only as the little mothers of [155] today, but as the cruelly beaten wives of tomorrow.

593 591 578 Frequently there is no way for boy or girl to avoid an unpleasant scene; but whenever possible, a child will seek a refuge—for a short time if the trouble blows over quickly—for years if it does not. Nellie Bending-Branch lives with her grandmother because her parents quarrel so much. May Big Water has spent most of her days at her grandmother's largely because her father and stepmother fought so frequently. Pointed Plume's adopted "favorite" returned to her own parents when he and his wife quarrelled seriously before separation.

[855] At times, a child is the terrified observer of parental conflict; at times, he is the unhappy victim of parental cruelty. Not infrequently, upon the remarriage of a mother, the children will remain with their grandparents, "because their stepfather might not be good to them." Stepmothers were viewed with equal misgivings, and not without cause. But there are also cases of children so mistreated by an own mother or father, that they have to be rescued by more compassionate, if more distant relatives.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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593 858 Favorites are well aware of the envy their position arouses in their less petted brothers and sisters. One said,

> My father treated me with great affection. Others in the household obeyed him, but he often gave in to me. When I was little he carried me on his back so I wouldn't tire. He always took me with him and never said a mean word to me. Whenever I cried I was picked up immediately. When my mothers were cooking, I was allowed to go to the pot first and select the choicest morsel. All this showed I was a favorite son.
>
> I often fought with my little sister. Although my mother was sorry for her and sometimes tried to take her away when she was getting the worse of it, she would never punish or scold me. My sister always grabbed at my necklace. If she ripped it off, she would hide it, but my father always made her give it back to me. My sisters fussed about the special treatment I was getting. They were jealous and complained that our father wasn't treating them fairly.

593 858 579 Other unprivileged siblings have also been impelled to show their dissatisfaction. At a favorite's birthday feast attended by some fourteen old and respected members of society, a cake with candles (!) was proudly carried in. A young sister of the birthday child quickly blew them out. Neither the tearful protests of the *minipoka* nor a slap in the face diminished the unconcealed pleasure of the culprit. "If I blew out the candles," she said gleefully to the outraged favorite, "it is my birthday, not yours."

A little boy of six asked his father with pathetic eagerness, "Won't you have me for your *minipoka*, as my grandfather has my sister Myrtle?" Then gazing at his unshod feet, he added ruefully, "I cannot be a *minipoka*, I have no shoes." A stepson so resented the attention his stepfather lavished on his own daughters, who were favorites the "American way," that he left home to live with a married sister.

593 858 556 To be sure, not all families have favorites either in the traditional terms of in the "American way," but the pattern is so deeply ingrained in the struggle for wealth and recognition that it colors the thoughts and speech of many whose families have never been able to support a *minipoka*. One man went so far as to say, "A poor person might part with his last horse to buy a ceremonial object for his child in the hope that he would then be called a *minipoka*."

593 578 Rivalry, however, finds frequent expression even when "real" favoritism is not involved. A little girl of two threw her newborn brother from the bed and tried to strangle him. A young mother told how, as a child, she allowed her little sister's wagon to roll down hill, turn over, and spill the youngster in the mud because "she was so spoiled when she was sick." A grandmother recalled her resentment when her father gave a fine weasel-tail suit to an older sister and brought candy to a younger brother, despite the certain knowledge that food given to one sibling would surely be shared with all the others. A brother complained that his parents always gave in to his

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

sister and never did what he wanted. Many a son leaves his father's house to live with a married sister because he "can't get along with his brothers."

The age-grade is an important mechanism for solidarity, but alternate grades of the men's societies call each other "fighters." Their actions fulfill expectancy. One man, accused of beating his wife excessively, said in extenuation that he couldn't stand the taunts of his "fighters" who continually reminded him of her pre-marital promiscuity. The conflicts and insult techniques that rule between "fighters" are projected upon the family. Quarrels between young children are explained on this basis. A young boy of nine was tussling more or less playfully with his sister's son aged six. The father of the elder boy, who at the same time was the grandfather of the younger, said, "They just can't get along together. They are fighters." Brothers, merely because of age difference, frequently find themselves in opposite camps.

This institutionalization of hostility, however, only reinforces behavior patterns implicit in the basic structure of the society.[300] Rivalrous attitudes, rooted in the conflicting interests and individualistic goals that dominate the society as a whole, are freely expressed in childhood. They are strengthened by early training. They are nourished in adulthood by differences over property, whether in women, animals, or land. Some brothers have not spoken to each other for more than a decade. Mutual assaults are frequent and fraternal murder is not unknown. Familial attachment created no problem in loyalties for Yellow Wolf when he assisted in the police hunt for his notorious brother, Charcoal.

But when economic advantage demands cooperation, hostility may be repressed, if only temporarily. This same Charcoal, after a serious break with Yellow Wolf, joined his haying camp and accepted his leadership again. The White Plume brothers who beat each other up in the early part of the week camped together a few days later and brought in the wheat.

Childhood rivalries between sisters are more apt to be dissipated in later life. In the buffalo period, many an early antagonism was forgotten because the advantage of being a second wife in a sister's household overcame the disadvantage of continued proximity. In the monogamous present, distance mitigates if it does not completely resolve the friction: after marriage, a woman still generally goes to her husband's house.

Other aspects of housing also affect family relationships. In the past, no

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[300] From an anthropological viewpoint, see Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, p. 236; also Ralph Linton, *The Effects of Culture on Mental and Emotional Processes*, pp. 294, 295; also Bronislaw Malinowski, *Culture as a Determinant of Behavior*, particularly pp. 133–139. From a psychoanalytical viewpoint, see Erich Fromm, *Escape From Freedom*, pp. 277–291; also Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of our Time*, p. 188 ff.; also Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and his Society*, p. 55.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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matter whether residence was patrilocal or matrilocal, it was customary for a young married couple to have their own tipi. Today, married children, because of the considerable expense and labor involved in building or buying a modern permanent dwelling, frequently bring their spouses into their parents' home. The arrangement inevitably increases the possibility of discord. If residence is matrilocal, the situation is further complicated by the traditional mother-in-law "avoidance." Some sons-in-law have ceased to observe this taboo either because it is inconvenient or "old-fashioned." While such a breakdown in restraint may lead to a better understanding between a man and his wife's mother, it may as easily lead to a more overt expression of hostility.

Distant Relatives and Friends

Where close familial bonds are so brittle, little can be expected from distant relatives. Henry Arrow-maker, owner of considerable grazing land but no cattle, is on government relief. He spoke eagerly of his rich relative, Bob Double Man, the successful cattle herder. He told of friendly conversations as they met casually in Cardston each week, but only during the summer as he went to and from the beet fields did he stay at Bob's house. The gifts received were nominal indeed: board and lodging for a few days. Such qualities as hospitality and generosity are still stressed as desirables and even "musts" in the society, but since success depends little upon them, they receive more lip service than support. Friends and relatives still extend a cordial invitation, but the welcome quickly cools. With the best of will, the Curtises invited the Sloanes to stay with them and work with us. Within a few days, although the Sloanes paid board and brought presents, Julia Curtis was complaining of the extra work and maneuvering their early departure. Again, at the Sun dance, she complained that none of the guests who dropped in for meals gave her any assistance: "People expect everything these days," she added.

VI. Biographical Sketches

Brief and few though the following sketches are, they reveal in a different way, if not completely, the range of personality types among the Blood, the degree of adaptation to a changing society, and the varying responses to status.

The Men

Head Chief. Blanket Man, fifty-six, came of a line of head chiefs. His grandfather was the old chief, Red Crow, who had signed the treaty of 1877. His father, Crop-eared Wolf, succeeded to the chieftaincy. Blanket Man

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long as the younger." 000

This system of rank and seniority had its repercussions on personal security. Even though blood bonds were considered extremely stable, cases occur where there was open conflict between brothers. Moreover, a younger brother was a potential threat to an older brother whom he might surpass. Many Swans' war record excelled that of his older brother, and people taunted the brother mildly on this score. Indeed, there was personal humiliation, for the great family name of Many Swans, borne by the older brother, was taken away by the father and given to the younger brother. The older brother also relinquished the chieftainship of the band in favor of the younger. Thus age was no guarantee against being excelled by a younger man even within one's own family. Loss of one's wives was another threat. In fact, judging by the severe and brutal treatment accorded an unfaithful wife at the hands of her husband, unfaithfulness seems to have been an almost intolerable personal affront. Yet we have instances where the co-respondent was a younger brother. The fact that the levirate did occur in some cases legalized this relationship but only after the death of the older brother. As if to prevent even this possibility, a male addressed his older brother's wife as "mother," and she replied "son." 561 593 578 [558] [553] [622] [558] [684] [587]

Thus if fraternal conflict were possible, the only security in a system of rank is in the group of those with identical rank. Indeed, we have observed that a male cousin, step-brother or twin of the same age was not called "brother" but "comrade." This is the only reciprocal term in Northern Blackfoot kinship terminology with the exception of the remote parents of one's siblings' spouses and the parents of ones' children's spouses (*nitax'-soku'*). The relationship of one comrade to another might be extremely close, implying a sharing of wealth, of sexual gratification and of recreation. Though comrades exchanged gifts, there was no sign of competition between them in out-doing the other in generosity. With comrades one's wife was safe, for with their wives one might have easy, ribald relations, though no sexual intercourse. The children of comrades were called "my children," and adoption of one or more of them at the death of a comrade was not uncommon. The age societies supported this solidarity further, for through the hierarchy of these societies one passed with the same group. Indeed, it was not uncommon for comrades to join together to help a poor comrade by paying for his membership. Then as a member of an age group one could vent his feelings against those of the next older age grade by jeering at their accomplishments, possibly sublimating some of the repressed rancor occasioned by their imperious authority. 561 602 571 [601] [597] [575] [578] [182]

Here we see that the relation of male to male was one of rank based on sen- [152] [154]

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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The male

428 relatives were obligated to care for the widow. Women did own property,
421 nevertheless, and might dispose of it according to their own wishes, but
562 should they receive horses from a dying man, a close male relative would be obliged to care for this property.

[736] Under the violent fluctuation of economic fortunes due to enemy raids,
428 uncontrolled livestock disease and severe winters, inheritance was usually not a very significant factor in Blackfoot social life. Though there are notori-
[461] ous cases where young men remained idly in camp because they had inherited sufficient horses to make the warpath unnecessary, such cases stand
[768] out by dint of their rarity. Most obligations were settled prior to death, and in mourning dissipation of the property was speedy, relatives and non-relatives alike not unwilling to be present at the distraught hand-outs of the
[765] dead man's possessions. Then the immediate kinsmen were left to mourn, stripped of property, themselves careless of what happened. Nevertheless, in distributing the property, the prior obligations to siblings as compared with own children is striking.

593 Throughout life reciprocal obligations between brothers was stressed. In
561 childhood the older brother was responsible for introducing a younger brother into the boy's life of the camps. Later he took his younger brother
868 on his first war party. As repayment for this instruction, the younger brother would give a sizable fraction of his booty to the older, and this practice would continue indefinitely after the young man had showed his capability of independent fighting. Once established as a warrior, the young man would take a still younger sibling on war parties, in order to instruct him. This practice established a chain of obligations to repay older brothers and instruct younger brothers who in their turn would repay their instructors.

573 Competition for honors was a potentially disintegrating force in the rela-
561 tions between brothers, but this system of obligations solidified fraternal
● [578] relations. In this light the prior obligations to brothers over sons is to be understood: A man's son normally received aid not from his father but from his father's younger brother who would ordinarily be the son's "older brother." Thus interaction in certain spheres was greater with members of adjacent age grades than with one's parents. This was particularly true with reference to economic exchange, and these economic obligations continued through life, finally to be expressed in a man's last words on his deathbed. The main exception to this rule was with a favored child, where the father himself chose to assume the rôle normally falling to an older brother. In accordance with such sentimental ties, the favored child usually received the bulk of a man's property, in contrast to the usual emphasis on sibling solidarity which succeeded in channeling property toward siblings.

591 Residence after marriage also assumed no specific forms. Not only might

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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It will have been observed that the woman's system of relating herself to other women is very similar to the Crow kinship structure. Though the presence of such a structure may imply matrilineality, the fact that no clan structure existed necessarily dissipates this possibility. Rather, the somewhat fluid band group contained relatives of a wide variety of relationship and even some unrelated persons if the chief were wealthy and generous. Rather than an emphasis on kin relationships as a patrilineality or a matrilineality would imply, we find instead that a conceivably close bond of blood may be sacrificed for a remoter relationship with greater economic advantage. It is as if one blood relationship were nearly as important as any other and that each merely served as the entrée for advancing one's private interests.

Points of Weakness in the Structure

There were two main points of weakness in the kinship structure which we shall discuss, one in the relationship between siblings, and another in the relationship of husband and wife. Both of these weaknesses were in a large measure due to the disrupting effect of Plains individualism.

We have already noted that brothers might be in conflict, although the emphasis was certainly on fraternal solidarity. There was a continual potential conflict between familial solidarity with authority vested in the eldest and the outspoken individualism of the Plains expressed as a desire to be unhampered by outside authorities. This progressed in the Northern Blackfoot to the extent of dissipating even familial groupings. The leaders of a band were usually close relatives. After Crowfoot's death, for example, the leadership of his band passed through the line of his brothers in order of their age and today has ended nominally with the eldest son of Crowfoot's youngest brother. The followers of a chief, however, were usually any relative of the chief but not necessarily close relatives, for these closer relatives of lesser people tended to move to other camps where opportunities were better. Rather than risk conflict with an elder brother and rather than cooperate to make a common living, brothers moved away to other camps where opportunities might be better with some other relative. The following case of a young man and his mother illustrates the ephemerality of authority of one sibling over another and the solution by moving to another camp.

Many Mules and his mother camped with Big Black Collar, mother's brother, for Many Mules' father had died. The agent offered cattle to the Indians, and Calf Bull, Many Mules' sister's husband, who was chief of a band, bought some. He also advised Many Mules to buy some, but Many Mules said he must first consult his "older brother." Big Black Collar advised against it, saying that those who bought cattle would be sent north and denied the weekly meat rations. Many Mules followed his older brother's advice at that time but in the meanwhile helped Calf Bull from time to time with his cattle. When subsequently the agent offered cattle free to any Indian,

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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593 621 571 Many Mules obtained five head and drove them into the corral of Big Black Collar. On seeing them, Big Black Collar was furious and ordered Many Mules to get rid of them. Instead Many Mules moved with his mother to the camp of his mother's sister's husband who was a cattle owner.

The result of this situation for a young man was that he moved from one relative's camp to the next until he found the authority which was least arduous. However, until he became economically independent, he could not [581] maintain a wife and tipi. This may be considered another reward for marriage: when one becomes supreme authority in one's own tipi.

937 562 [577] [578] Marriage in itself was an unstable affair due to other factors. Here there exists a conflict between the male dogma that any woman was a legitimate sex object and the ideal embodied in the Sun Dance vower, that a bride be not only a virgin but as a wife remain perpetually faithful to her husband. Unmarried men were always a threat to the stability of a marriage, for few men would tolerate clandestine affairs on the part of their wives. The relative rarity of Sun Dance vowers as compared with those women who were ineligible to vow the Sun Dance because of past misconduct bespeaks the [684] frequency of these illicit affairs. As women were credited with the initiative in love, the punishment was usually directed toward them rather than the [621] co-respondent, and this punishment was often severe in the extreme. Pat- [152] terns of male suspiciousness and jealousy were rampant: Wives were beaten merely after seeing another man beat his wife; suspicious men even moved [578] from the protection of a camp to the open prairie where they were easy prey [593] to enemy raiding parties, rather than risk their wives in a camp filled with bachelors; young men suspected of complicity were attacked without warn- 593 ing by irate husbands. The reason for this conduct may be partly under- 571 stood on the basis of affronted authority. As unfaithfulness on the part of a 937 wife threatened the very existence of the domain over which a man had 684 supreme authority and might reduce him to acknowledging authority in another tipi group as an ignominious visitor who could not care for himself, marriage stability was a very personal and vested interest for a male. To protect the household the punishment was extreme, varying from mutilation in order to make her less attractive, to society rape fests that she might be given her fill of sexual experience with other men, to merely shooting her. All this was carried out in a fit of rage under the name of disillusioned love: "I loved her so much, and then she was unfaithful to me." The restorative aspects of these measures must be stressed, for since the wife was usually not sent away, the punishment was intended to make the household more [682] secure. Should the extreme have occurred, murder was always followed by [765] the customary mourning rites that approximated those following natural death. Only when the integrity of the household could be preserved in any

177 and told their sons about that life, so their tie with the past is
184 real. The Chiefs have lived through three-quarters of a century of
554 the changes described in Chapter V, so the wisdom they profess has a
565 basis in experience with the white man. They were active participants in the trials of change, having tried many of the programs for economic readaptation with varying degrees of success. In the course of these economic ups and downs, these men accepted some change, but also tried to maintain the traditions as they knew them. Their ability to do this has made them both the advisers and symbols they now are for numbers of people.

The high status position of these men is fairly stable, but
[571] still depends on the numbers and support of their followers. Their
[431] claims to status must be validated by continued service and acts of
[556] generosity. They are not wealthy, but they have shared what they had in better times and perform services presently that validate their positions.

177 The Chiefs do not present a united front, and are still rivals
184 for additional prestige. They criticize one another and are gossiped
554 about by other people. One old man will dismiss the tales of another
565 as "lies." "He doesn't know anything. The truth is . . . ." Another
578 will be criticized for telling war stories. "He once put a story in
[424] the paper about how he scalped a Crow Indian . People laugh at him. He shouldn't tell those stories, they don't belong to him. My daddy told me not to tell these war stories, they're the property of the people who did the things."

177 The Chiefs, then, are honored for their ability to symbolize
184 and to advise about and maintain these traditions. The knowledge and
554
565

Bear Valley being a frequent resort. 175

The Bloods and Blackfeet usually wintered near each other, 131
on Belly River, and summered on the Saskatchewan, ranging over the
intervening country. The same region was also the abiding place of [171]
the Sarcees (Sarsi)." (Bradley, Vol. VIII, pp. 153-4).

The southward shift following the establishment of 439
American traders on the Marias appears to have effected the Piegan 578
primarily. Perhaps the readiness with which the Piegan shifted 175
their allegiance to the traders on the Missouri was a cause of friction [131]
between them and the Blood and North Blackfeet, who continued to trade
on the Saskatchewan as well as in the United States. Possibly the
Piegan were jealous of the fact that the other two tribes traded on
the Missouri at all. When Maximilian asked the Piegan chief, Middle Bull, [628]
whether he would encounter much danger on a trip he contemplated (but
didn't make) westward to the Rockies, the chief replied that "The
Piekanns might, perhaps, rob us, but would not probably treat us as
enemies; but the Kahna and the Siksekai were fools, and we must be
on our guard against them." (Maximilian, Vol. XXIII, p. 164-165).

It is certain that during the '30s we find the first 131
definite proof of occupancy of the area around the headwaters of the 175
Missouri (Royce Area 398) by any of the Blackfeet Indians - the first
evidence that this was a hunting ground as well as a fighting one.
The occupants were not an entire tribe but a large band of the Piegan,

175 Two years later the withdrawal of the North Blackfeet,
648 Blood and North Piegan Indians from the United States culminated in their negotiation of a treaty with the Dominion of Canada. At Blackfoot Crossing on Bow River, September 22, 1877, these Indians along with the Sarcees and the Stonies (the northwestern division of the Assiniboin) signed Treaty No. 7 under which they agreed to behave and conduct themselves as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the
[131] Queen (Victoria). Under the conditions of this treaty they surrendered to the crown all their lands, comprising some 50,000 square miles lying westward of the Cypress Hills, northward of the
[657] international boundary and east of the Rocky Mountains. In return the Canadian Government agreed to permit the Indians to continue to hunt throughout this vast tract and assigned reserves to each tribe within the area of sufficient size to permit the Indians to allow 1 square mile for each family of five. (Morris, contains the complete text and proceedings of this treaty).

175 The Blackfeet, Bloods and Sarcees first took a reservation
657 in common on both sides of Bow River above and below Blackfoot Cross-
131 ing. But they did not get on well together and in the next year the
[648] Bloods were transferred to a new location on the Belly River and the
[578] Sarcees to the Elbow above Calgary. The Blackfeet remained near Blackfoot Crossing. The North Piegan located on a reservation in the Porcupine Hills on Oldman River above Fort Macleod. All of these reservations are in the Canadian Province of Alberta.

[P.148]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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177 622 [578] comparable problems usually did similarly. On matters of common interest they met, talked it over, and reached an agreement on common action, or at least learned each other's views. The whites' expectation, then, that executive power resided in the hands of one man produced additional friction.

648 622 578 An instance of this conflict may be seen when the Canadian Pacific Railway approached the Blackfoot to obtain right-of-way for their tracks between Medicine Hat and Calgary. The representatives of the railway evidently made their proposals directly to Crowfoot. By white standards the decision rested in his hands, though he might have sought the recommendation of the other chiefs. By Indian standards he had no power to act on behalf of the others on a problem that concerned them all, and should have obtained the approval of all before action was taken. What actually happened in the meeting between Crowfoot and the railway representatives may possibly be found in the archives of the railway company. It is certain, however, that Crowfoot did not bring the matter to the attention of the chiefs but acted on it himself. No Indian objected when the railway came through; it was perhaps viewed as another uncontrollable aspect of the treaty. In a public ceremony the railway company gave Crowfoot a medal which entitled him to unlimited transportation. After Crowfoot's death, however, a peculiarity appeared. A cheque for $70 came each month from the railway company to the head chief of the east end of the reserve, in this case to Three Bulls, the new chief and brother of Crowfoot. Not knowing its purpose, Three Bulls inquired and discovered that Crowfoot had been secretly accepting this sum since the granting of the right-of-way to the C.P.R. This sum should not be construed as a bribe, but as a perfectly above-board part of the agreement with the company. An event so widely publicized as Crowfoot's death could not have escaped the attention of the railway company, had they wished to discontinue the payment. It is our guess that Crowfoot was continuing his policy of pleasing the whites. Properly, he should have conferred with the chiefs but may have been afraid that they would reject the offer, or he may have been pressed by the agent and the railway representative to act for his people. In Blackfoot terms, nevertheless, he was clearly assuming unwarranted authority and had to accept the monthly payment secretly to prevent it being known that he had presumed to act for the others. His shame and fear in so doing is argued not only by

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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the secret being kept from his own brother and successor, but also by the fact that subsequent head chiefs have uniformly rejected the payment as tainted money. Furthermore, Crowfoot, though honoured in other ways by his own people, has been roundly condemned for this action because he did not consult the other chiefs.

Not only were minor and head chiefs occasionally at odds, but they both conflicted with chiefs unrecognized by whites. This may be one factor accounting for the multiplication of band groups shortly after settling on the reserve. There was also no necessity to maintain large camps for reasons of self-defence, and Inspector Denny urged that the bands scatter over the reserve in order to provide more space for gardens. Furthermore, few chiefs had the means to support a very large group of followers in the old way. From the Unlucky Guns band there arose the Meat Eaters under Little Person, the Many Children under Eagle Calf, besides the original group that remained with Crow Eagle and Bear Child. Similarly, the Bakers of Bannock divided, some going to camp with Calf Bull, others going to the protection of White Eagle. Though deaths were eventually responsible for many movements and changes, those which occurred at this time, mainly from tuberculosis, scrofula, and measles, did not alter the band grouping very much.

These were tricky years for the chiefs in handling their followers. Their obligations to provide clothing and tools for their followers continued, but the main sources of these commodities were the storekeepers. In dealing with them, the only assets were garden produce or horses. Most of the latter had been lost during the two years in the United States. Chiefs faced a dilemma. Some, like Hind Bull, tried hunting in the north for deer but had difficulty in holding together their following because of the scarcity of game. Others, who remained on the reserve and faced white notions of order, risked alienation of those who were still eager to follow the warpath. Order had to be kept even though the seasoned warriors taunted their young society enemies who had never gone to war. Smarting from this ridicule, young men secretly gathered at night in remote coulees and set off south. On their return with stolen horses they faced the prospect of arrest by the Mounted Police. Many a tense moment resulted when the police sought to round up an offender. The old would say, "We used to do things; we were not afraid of the Mounties. We were strong." As a result, lives on both sides were lost while a young Indian, standing alone on a hill-top, proved his courage by defying the police to bring him to justice.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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In the beginning, hay was cut for the ration house. In 1892 the first hay harvest was reported, 162 tons, enough to winter the cattle that always had to be on hand for rations. A few years later hay cutting became an acknowledged occupation. A rancher, applying to the agent, would hire a chief and his followers to camp near his corral and cut hay for his cattle. With scythes, rakes, and forks the gang made stack after stack, paid richly with a steer's carcass for each stack. In the fall, when these gangs returned to the reserve, their parfleches were filled to the brim. In 1898, the agent, G. H. Wheatley, reporting signs of progress, spoke of Weasel Calf, Running Rabbit, and others as having bought mowers and horse rakes.

With the harvesting of hay well under way, it was deemed that the time had come to introduce cattle to the Indians. Accordingly a trial balloon was launched by way of an arrangement to exchange cattle for horses with any Indian who wished them. The farm instructor was to show the individual families how to care for these beasts.

Little did the agent appreciate the ramifications of this move. Crowfoot, though willing in starvation days to accept cattle, changed his mind after having enjoyed the pleasant security of rations, and opined that cattle spelled the end of this security. This attitude was so prevalent that when cattle were offered, the old cry of white versus Indian ways renewed itself. Rumour had it that once cattle were established, rations would be abolished and the Blackfoot would be moved north from their ancient habitat to fend for themselves in the bush country. People set their jaws to resist, so that when fourteen traitors traded horses for cattle in 1895, an uproar broke loose. Common folk who took them were sometimes driven from the band village. Brothers who had camped side by side for years moved apart with bitter words. The eminent ceremonialist Calf Child was shunned by his friends. Even such a prominent man as Calf Bull, though untouchable by dint of his wealth and prestige, was widely criticized.

At first many of these deviants managed to live in the band villages as before, their cattle safe in the corrals of the farm instructors. Through the year they cut hay for their own stock, learned to wean cattle, and acquired skill in husbandry. A year or two later some of these people, anxious to move out of earshot of their carping neighbours, set up separate establishments with their own cattle out on the prairie. They built rough corrals in which to house the

578 824 575 Society members were very careful to avoid being provoked while the root was being used. Angry words spoken in such circumstances were likely to become a sad reality to the person rebuked.

824 The influence of the root was only temporary: it lasted just as long as the root was kept by the person using it. A man was open to the same bad influences that could affect him before, once he stopped using sau-gas-sin. Men on the reserve who still use the root are feared by those who believe in its power.

[126] Although we have had little difficulty in obtaining information about the root, we have been unable to gather a specimen in the field; our only [778] identification comes from herbarium material. (Possession depends on ceremonial transfer from a previous owner---an event which we were unable to arrange. Otherwise the power in the root might have bad effects, not only for the unanointed but also for all persons associated with him.)

Sau-gas-sin is certainly unique among the plants used by the Blackfoot for religious purposes. The power root placed the subject in a much more intimate relationship with the mysterious forces. Its proper application [754] had devastating results, and its misuse had serious consequences. Whether this is evidence of witchcraft among the Blackfoot is an open question; much more work needs to be done on this subject.

BALSAM ROOT

Balsamorhiza sagittata (pursh) Nutt.

Balsam root (Fig. 25) is a showy sunflower that brightens the foothills in late spring.

824 783 224 The root of ohm-ah-gahs ("big turnip") was used as incense during the preparatory rites for the ceremonial runner who, in pre-horse days, had the duty of hearding the buffalo toward the piskun (buffalo jump). The runner bathed himself in the smoke from a smudge of the dried root; according to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49]

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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561 575 796 until it is taken and smoked. This act pairs them. A few old men, presumably former members, are called in to officiate, they having full charge of the ceremony. The following narrative may be given as a type:—

432 When I went into this tipi I had a pipe full of tobacco. I offered it to a man by the name of Bear-head. I told him the reason for it. I wanted his rattle. He was assistant leader. He took the pipe from me, held the stem up in the direction of the sun and prayed. Then he lighted it and smoked. All those who went in with me did the same. When all had finished their smoke, Bear-head began to paint me and give me the rattle, etc.

The purchasers are instructed by the sellers and coached as long as necessary. For all such services fees are in order. Other societies are certain to challenge the pigeons to athletic, gambling, parade, and other contests in which each member is expected to do his utmost.

● [578] After a dance they sometimes run about outside the camp, where they annoy the women carrying water by shooting through their buckets.

THE MOSQUITOES.

561 575 The organization of this society is similar to the preceding. It is as follows:—

The leader (1)	The old men comrades (4)
The yellow mosquitoes (4)	The single men comrades (1–2)
The mosquitoes (x)	The drummers (4)

561 575 796 The leader wears an eagle tail-feather on the head. His face and body are painted red with a black band across at the level of the bridge of the nose. He wears a buffalo robe, hair side out.

[737] [302] The four yellow mosquitoes are each painted yellow with a red band across the nose. They wear feathers in the hair and robes, hair side out. On each wrist is tied an eagle claw, representing the mosquito's bill.

[292] The mosquitoes paint in red, wear plumes, but otherwise dress as the above four. The four drummers use half of a rawhide to beat upon.

[534] The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothes during the ceremony, blankets, leggings, etc. They have no special regalia.

The number of single men comrades is said to vary, sometimes being two and sometimes four. It was stated by an informant, that single men were taken in in this capacity by some of their relatives. Sometimes, older men it was said, are backward about dancing or taking part in the ceremonies whence they sometimes have one of their young relatives entered as a single man comrade. Thus the member can remain seated while his young representative dances in his place. Young boys may be taken in in this way.

proposals for camping sites and routes of travel, and selected two or three of the societies to undertake the various duties for that season. While these were nominally under the control of the chiefs their duties were so well known that they generally acted on their own initiative. The leaders of the chosen societies pitched their tipis in a group in the centre of the camp circle. The members patrolled the camp in turn during the night. They punished recalcitrant offenders against public welfare by beating and destruction of property. Some went ahead when a march began to select the precise site of the next camp, while others superintended the column of march. The societies were also mainly responsible for knowing the position and movements of the buffalo herds and for organizing the tribal hunts. In any emergency the chiefs could call upon one or more of them to deal with the situation. They could not, however, act until they were called upon to do so. The changing membership, coupled with the rivalry of one with another and the short season of their activity, averted any tendency to the permanent seizure of power by one or all of these societies.

The summer camp was the occasion for great ceremonial activity. A host of feasts and ceremonies followed the short period of intensive hunting, in which large stores of food were accumulated. With appropriate ritual and after due payment of hide robes and horses, 'medicine bundles' of magical objects and the formulas necessary for their effective use were often transferred from one man to another. The societies performed their special dances and rituals, and if the time for purchase and transfer of society membership was due, great triple tipis were built in which the lengthy ceremonies of exchange were held. Finally came the great annual ceremony of the Sun Dance at which individuals and the tribe as a whole sought power and well-being in a protracted ritual that lasted a week or more. The camp circle broke up shortly after this and the bands moved away in the direction of their winter quarters, which mostly lay farther to the west in the rougher foothill country. With the disintegration of the camp there ended also any real authority of the tribal leaders and councils.

Hides and Skins

The buffalo which so dominated the activities of the Blackfoot supplied them with more than meat. Almost every part of the animal was used. The hide was dressed with the hair left on to provide heavy winter robes; thinned and with the hair removed, it was the material for shirts, leggings, moccasins, tent covers, bags and receptacles of every kind. Cut into strips it furnished ropes and lines. The hair was used to stuff pillows and later saddles, and to decorate garments, shields and quivers.

A man, Sun-a-ke, appeared in the torture paint and, after sitting on the ground for a few minutes, was punctured as usual and fastened to the ropes. I also took his photo but the Sun was so low that the picture did not turn out as well as the one the day before.

The next day of the ceremonies turned out, unexpectedly, to be the last day. Two unrelated incidents caused camp to break: an undisclosed dispute among the Horns and an unidentified charge of adultery.

Monday. It was expected that the "Horned Ones" would enter today but a dispute arose among [them], one of their members taking down his lodge, which formed half of the fraternal abode, and moving from camp. The night before, a man accused one of the religious women of the tribe of adultery [this was a separate affair from the Horns dispute]. He claimed he had seen her at dusk indulging in immoral conduct with a certain young man, the son of a prominent chief. This caused a great commotion in camp, which coupled with the trouble in the Horned Society, had the effect of breaking up the camp, all dispersing to the different villages up and down the river.

It may be added that the criminal affair mentioned, which was for a long time the one interesting topic of tribal talk, had a somewhat impressive ending. Sentiment was divided in regard to the guilt or innocence of the woman, who declared that her accuser was blasting her character because she had repelled improper advances of his own. She had hitherto bourne a good reputation; in fact she had filled positions in religious rites that only those who solemnly swore to their virtue can occupy. The people therefore were loath to misjudge the woman. The old men said, "Time will tell who speaks the truth; death inside of a year is the penalty which all women pay who make false vows; the young man commits an equally serious crime who accuses a good woman falsely, therefore the liar in this case must die before the end of a year. It is not a long time to wait [and see] which of them will it be." Strange to relate, the woman died in childbirth in January following above incident.

The disagreements that brought the Okan of 1892 to an end did not affect most of the People. They went back home with the Good Spirits that had presided over the holy ceremonies. Disagree-

[TEXT Continued on Page 41-A]
[p. 40-A]

ments among the People were becoming more common by that time, anyway, as their life in harmony with the Old Ways was being disturbed by outside interferences, both physical and spiritual.

SCRAPING WHITE'S AND HEAVY HEAD'S ACCOUNT: 1889

I once asked the Old Man if he had seen the self-torture dancing during the 1892 Okan, among the Bloods. He told me, "I was at that Okan with my parents, I remember . . . but I was too young to understand what was really going on. Some families had favorite children (Minipokaiks) who were taken along to holy ceremonies and had things explained to them. I wasn't one of those. Most of the kids were expected to play with their friends and not come near enough to disturb holy places until they were old enough to take part in things. I spent most of my time with my partners, riding across the prairie on my horse and looking for childhood adventure." Then, sensing that I had hoped for a more exciting answer, he added, "But my stepfather, Scraping White, later told me about the self-torture dancing. He helped to make the incisions and gave the dancers encouragement. Three summers before that last time of self-torture he had made and fulfilled a vow of his own."

I learned that old Scraping White was one of three men who fulfilled his self-torture vows during the Okan in 1889. Besides Scraping White, who was then twenty-three years old, there was Tough Bread (also known as Flint and Heavy Forehead) and old Heavy Head, who was then twenty. Heavy Head later became the Old Man's advisor and teacher. In 1947, an anthropologist named John Ewers recorded old Scraping White's story about his experience. Scraping White was then eighty-one years old—a fact that disproves the common theory that men who took part in the self-torture did not live long afterward. This theory might have been true in the long-ago days,

The Mormon elder asked Red Crow, "What do you mean by that?" Red Crow told him, "We are the children of the Chief Woman. She told us not to drink. Now you, why did you give drinks to my children? The way we sat together is going to be ruined." Big Grey Mouth told Red Crow and Owns Many Horses, "My friend, the way you treated us is very good. Where we are settled now, this land connects with the Piegan, you gave me that, and why should we be bad relatives? Now, my friend, I will promise you this: in our country, where we are settled, all the doors of liquor stores will be closed. This way to Glenwood, and all those like Humpback [Magrath], Where Sugar Is Made [Raymond], and at Thorny Place [Spring Coulee] there will be no liquor stores in these towns, and there will be no liquor store here in the Men with Many Wives."

It wasn't long after that when the liquor store burned down, and it was never erected again. Now, I heard that when He Captured Many Guns [Senator James Gladstone, famous as the "first Indian senator in Canada"; he took the Bloods as his People and spent his life on the reserve] went to England, he asked for the liquor rights and now drinking is open for the Bloods. Now it is very lonely the way the Many Chiefs are living. They kill each other every day and they die in accidents. They fight and they separate. Many children are deserted. The new life is very lonely and now, today, the Old People are dying from broken hearts. It's on account of the new law. The first treaty—how happy are the laws that were given to those People. Today, we extinguished the Sun. . . . Life was happy . . . that life will never come back. . . ."

[578]

HISTORY OF MY OWN LIFE

Oki, now I am going to tell a story, the story of my life.

The white men herded their cattle on the Blood Reserve and they paid four dollars to each

[p. 232-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Big Wolf. Powerful warrior and former Owner of the Long-Time Pipe (Glacier Studio)

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coming down the road. One of them was riding a horse, the others were walking. So they all rushed out and attacked them. Big Wolf chased the one on the horse. Before anybody got hurt, Ermine Horse found out that the men were friends, they were Northern Real Crees. Ermine Horse told the others to return all the things that they had taken from the Crees, then they all sat down to smoke. 726 793 [648]

After a while the Bloods started arguing with each other. Some of them said they didn't come to make any treaties. Maybe the Crees figured out what they were arguing about, because one of them lifted his gun and fired at the Bloods. A fight started. Two of the Crees were killed right [578]

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301

Calf Robe. The rawhide rope is for horse raiding. [283]
(Glacier Studio) [237]

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been my mother in the Old Way. Her name was Sharp Ears, and she was shot with a bullet intended for my stepfather, who was trying to run the traders out for selling whiskey to his People. I stole the horse from them in revenge for that murder. The other fellows got angry at me for stealing a horse from white people. They said that the U.S. Army might come after us now. [*Horses stolen from such people could usually be identified by their brands.*] 726 [602]

When we got to a place called Snake Nose Butte, our party split up because of an argument. We never did decide who was our leader, al- [578]

though Young Pine was the one who had organized the raid. Calf Robe and Prairie Chicken Old Man didn't accept him as a leader when the two disagreed over a chipped knife blade. The knife belonged to Calf Robe, who was so bitter about its chipping that Prairie Chicken Old Man finally jumped on it and broke it in half. Calf Robe and Crazy Crow took one horse and parted from us, but joined us later when we reached the Elk River [Yellowstone]. At the junction of that river and one called Pryor Creek there is a butte that we call the Beaver Head, because that is what it looks like. Fom on top of that butte we got our first view of a Crow camp—two of them, in fact. One camp was small and the other was average, but there were many horses all over, especially pintos.

We stayed up on the butte all day, and made camp in some dense brush. It rained and the clouds made the night black so we could see hardly a thing, but we headed for the Crow camps anyway. Crazy Crow and Prairie Chicken Old Man were the ones who had spotted the enemy camps, so we let them go in first to take their pick from the horse herds.

Calf Robe and I decided to go over to the smaller camp and see what we could find. We went past a lodge that was away from the other ones, and we looked inside. I saw a woman combing a kid's hair, and I got excited at the thought of getting a scalp. I told Calf Robe that I would go in and kill them both and scalp them. But he told me that I was crazy, that we came for horses, not to kill people. What he said was right. I was still young and crazy then. Besides, it turned out that those people were distant relatives of mine—some years later some Crows were at our camps and I told about this warpath, and they knew right away who it was.

We couldn't find any horses because of the rain and darkness, so we went back to the rest of our party. They had already captured a large herd and then lost them in the darkness. They were

[726] [578] [411] [103] [578]

[p. 292-B]

angry with us for not being there to help them. We decided to move on, and look for another Crow camp and hope that the weather would clear enough so that we could see what we were doing. We went on toward the east until daybreak, then made our camp in some woods. 726 [578]

The next night we kept going east, toward Sheep River [Bighorn River], until daylight came and we made our camp on top of a hill, where we could keep a lookout on the surrounding country. During the day a wagon train heading east stopped to make camp near us. We had no field glasses, but it looked like they had a lot of horses. We waited until dark to go and steal some. The horses turned out to be mules, which were not of much use to us. We decided not to steal anything from the white men because of possible trouble with their army. We went on to the Sheep River, where we knew there would be Crow camps.

We paired up and split into three groups. Crazy Crow came along with me. We found a camp before long and located a herd of plain horses, but none of them were worth coming this far for. Two of the others took horses and moved on to search for another Crow camp with better horses. We didn't see them again for a few days.

We left the herd and went to look at some other horses nearby—they were everywhere. It seemed the Crows probably didn't expect any more horse raiding from enemies. Crazy Crow decided to stay by our first bunch of horses, in case I ran into trouble anywhere else. I herded the second bunch away from where they were grazing and met up with Calf Robe and Prairie Chicken Old Man, who kept the herd going away from the camps, while Calf Robe turned back and went with me to another Crow camp.

It was daylight by the time we reached the Crow camp. It was so large we decided to walk right through the center of the camp and look things over. We pulled the hoods of our blanket

[p. 293-A]

treat me good. Some from Gleichen [North Blackfoot] asked me to lead the Medicine Lodge ceremony that they were going to give down here last summer. I told them that I would, because my relatives on both sides took part in Medicine Lodge ceremonies in the Old Days. One time I was in a restaurant in town and Wolf Old Man [our Old Man] came in and saw me. He came over and asked if it was true that I was going to lead the Okan. I told him it was. Then, right in front of everybody, he told me that I had no right to lead that ceremony and that I didn't know enough about it and might hurt others who were taking part in it. But that isn't true. I know most of the songs from it and I know what to do to lead it. He's just mad because his brother [Crow-Spreads-His-Wings] used to lead them and he studied for a long time before he could do it. I can open a Beaver Bundle, too, even though I never had one. My father had one and my wife's father [Tough Bread] had one and I learned the songs from them.

The reason my songs are different from everybody else's is that I had a different Teacher. Most of the ones who lead the Medicine Pipe ceremonies learned their songs from Heavy Head, but I learned them from Tough Bread. I'm the only one still living who learned them from him, so I'm the only one who sings them that way.

The reason why I sell my things is because I believe in the Old Ways. In the Old Days, when the Old People were asked for something holy they always gave it, they never held back, and I am the same way. The white men sometimes want the holy things much more than an Indian will want it, so I let them have it to make them happy. The Crow Beaver Bundle that I sold was not being used any longer by the People. My sons sold the Medicine Pipe and the Horns Society Bundle. They didn't ask me about it before they did it, so I am not to blame for that. I always pray for my family and for anyone that needs my prayers. I am not stingy with them. The Creator

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

My father had out his far-seeing instrument, was looking through it at the valley at the place where we had seen the rising smoke, and after a little he said to us: "Many, many Liars out there, in the brush on the rim of the valley; mourning for their dead; looking for sight of us."

Said Many-Tail-Feathers: "We will tonight make them to cry still more."

"No. I feel that the passing of our good friends, False-Fast-Runner and Big Elk, is warning to us not to attack the camp of the Liars," said my father. "There are very many; too many; some of us would be killed. We have terribly punished them. They wait only for us to leave, to bury their thirty-three dead and then return to their north country."

That did not please Many-Tail-Feathers and a few others like him, crazily brave. They urged, come night, we at least should go to the rim of the valley, shoot down into the lodges of the Liars, and then leave. But my father would not agree to it. We remained right where we were during the rest of the day and as Sun was setting turned back for home, and in good time safely arrived there.

In my tenth and eleventh summers I went with my father's war parties against several enemy tribes, and we always had good success; I myself took three horses in a night raid that we made upon a camp of Crows.

Besides my mother, my father had three other wives, my almost-mothers, and they had four daughters, my almost-sisters, the eldest one of them married to a man of terrible temper, one named Owl Child. In my twelfth summer, my father gathered a large war party to go against the Cutthroats (Assiniboines), and this time left me to care for our family during his absence. Owl Child was one of those who went with him. Near the mouth of Little (Milk) River the party discovered a camp of the enemy, successfully fought them, and then Owl Child claimed to have killed a Cutthroat who without doubt had been killed by my father. They quarreled about it, and Owl Child, crazily angry, killed my father. When the party returned, bringing us the terrible news of his death, Owl Child was not with them. He had gone to his own relatives in Mountain Chief's

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

000 cried: "Oh, my son. You should not have done this. So dangerous are real-bears; it might have killed you." "I had to kill it or be killed," I answered, and told all about it and of my Sun vow.

Said my mother when I had finished: "Never was a real-bear better tanned than this one will be, for you to sacrifice to Sun."

221 796 578 In the Berries Ripe Moon (July) as agreed upon, all the bands of our tribe gathered at Four Persons' Butte (Milk-Teton River) for our sacred-vow women to build, as they did every summer, a sacred lodge for Sun. There with Mountain Chief's band was Owl Child, whom we had not seen since he killed my father.

My mother, first to see him, came hurrying back into our lodge and said: "That dog-face, that bad Owl Child is across the circle. All dressed up and proudly walking around." And with that she cried; my almost-mothers and my almost-sisters cried; and I took up my many-shots gun and said that I would go and kill him. Mothers and sisters, they seized me; took my gun from me; said that I should not attempt it for I might be killed, I their only support, and then what would become of them?

"But when I grow up, I surely will put an end to him, my father's killer," I said, and meant it.

175 On that first day of our getting together to build the lodge for Sun, it was told all through our great camp that Owl Child had been struck and knocked down by Four Bears, a white man married to *Kahkokimah Ahki* (Cutting-off-Head Woman) of our tribe, and that Owl Child was now saying that he would soon go back up to Wolf-Also-Jumped Creek to kill the man. Four Bears had made love to his (Owl Child's) wife, tried to get her to leave him; then had beaten him when he was unarmed. For that, Four Bears must die.

Four Bears (Malcolm Clark) had been a West Point cadet. Dismissed from the Academy for gross infractions of its rules, he had entered the service of the American Fur Company on the Upper Missouri River, remaining with it until it went out of business in 1864. He had then taken to ranching on Wolf Creek, near where the Fort Benton–Helena wagon road crossed the stream. He is said to have been a man of violent temper and ruthless disposition.

796 782 My mother was one of the sacred-vow women who built the great

and daring on horse-stealing raids, as well as a display of generosity toward the less successful. No leader held real power over the members of the band. Social control was a function of the entire society. Ridicule and ostracism functioned as a principal means of maintaining order. A leader retained his position only so long as he displayed those characteristics that had propelled him to leadership and so long as he correctly read the temper of the band. A headman who thwarted the desires of his followers would soon find himself without anyone to lead. It was an efficient fluid society well suited to the Plains environment of the mid-nineteenth century.

In the 1880s, when Robert Hamilton was in his early teens, the age when a Blackfoot boy entered manhood, the buffalo days came to a sudden end. In 1882, the Blackfeet had made a successful hunt. In 1883, the hunt had been very poor. In 1884, the Blackfeet found no buffalo and endured a two-year starving time when as many as 25 percent of the tribe died of malnutrition and associated diseases. Dependent on the largess of the federal government for bare subsistence, the bands huddled near the government agency in shock and despair (FRC, 1883; Ewers, 1958:290–294; McFee, 1972).

An erosion of traditional tribal society began almost at once. The reservation agent's control over food supplies struck at the heart of Blackfoot pride and independence. Further, the relationship of traditional leaders to the federal establishment altered their position in the tribe. Rivalries between band leaders, such as Three Suns who sought to retain the old way of life and the more accommodating White Calf, created social divisions never completely healed. Although the Blackfeet had organized a kind of police force and established a law code under the direction of Agent John Wood as early as 1878, the system had supplemented rather than replaced traditional methods of social control. After 1885, federal Indian agents used the older leaders as a means of enforcing order on the reservation. The elders presided over the distribution of rations and acted as judges meting out punishment for infractions of reservation rules. With the estab-

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vation and before the establishment of a business committee, it became a central issue in his campaign to secure more authority for the tribe over its own future. Objections to the permit system also gained Hamilton support from both full bloods and mixed bloods. The permit system established a fee of $1.00 a head for a fixed number of cattle to range without restriction on the Blackfoot Reservation. For the Blackfeet the government imposed the same fee for number of cattle in excess of one hundred head. Mixed bloods with large cattle herds protested paying any fee. Full bloods were equally resentful since the fee restricted their ability to trade cattle for horses. What the government had viewed as an insidious process of monopolization was viewed quite differently by the Blackfeet. Full bloods took little umbrage with their mixed blood relatives' penchant for acquiring cattle so long as it allowed them to continue a life-style they cherished above the ownership of beef cattle. Hamilton understood the full blood's attachment to an older pace of life and resented the government's interference (NA, 1902b, 1904a, 1904b; 1904c).

With little ability to monitor the system, the government program had little practical effect. Full bloods and mixed bloods simply evaded the regulations. Later, in 1908, the Office of Indian Affairs modified the permit system charging a fee to the Blackfeet only for cattle that were not part of the government's distribution program. Cattle carrying the Interior Department ID brand were not charged, while "straight" cattle were charged a fee for any number. The new program encouraged Blackfeet with large herds to brand all of their cattle with the ID brand, thus escaping the fee. Branding cattle with the ID brand, however, also reduced their ability to sell the cattle since ID cattle could be sold only with the agent's permission (FRC, 1908).

Hamilton had little difficulty organizing general resistance to the government's program and in uniting mixed bloods and full bloods in the effort. By 1915, the general evasion of the program forced the government to return to a leasing system. With World War I already in progress in Europe the market price for cattle increased, and

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The story concerns a young man engaged by this compulsion to gamble but faced with a disastrous losing streak. Schultz remonstrates with him,

> "Just think how much you are risking; what a shame it would be were you to be set afoot, no horses with which to move camp, not even one for your woman to ride.[61]

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Gambling losses are reckoned along with shame and other status determinants, and therefore, it is apparent that the unusual gambling bent is somehow related to increased status competition.

At any rate, the young man would not stop. "I must play again with him, and I'm sure I will win. I shall pray. I shall make a sacrifice. I must win." And, "I can't stop until I have won back all that I have lost."[62] The young man stayed in the game, trying to recoup lost goods and lost prestige.

He was reduced to destitution, whereupon his competitor suggested the following:

> . . . I will bet everything I have won from you against your woman." The loser accepted this final challenge and, "Begin!" he cried to his adversary. "We will play. We will play for her," and he added under his breath, "for her and for another thing." Again the young man lost, and his adversary demanded immediate possession of his winnings. The young man acquiesced and the following scene transpired.
>
> "There she is!" the Fisher (loser) exclaimed, pointing to the couch where the woman lay completely covered with a buffalo robe. "There she is," he continued, "but you shall never touch her. I am going to kill you, to make a sacrifice of you here in her presence."[63]

578 687 762 525 175

The terrified winner begged for his life but the enraged Fisher killed him with his knife. Then the loser turned to his woman and lifted the buffalo robe cover. She too, was dead. Covering herself with her robe, she had grasped a knife in both her hands and pressed it down into her heart. . . . "It is my fault," he said, "my fault, my fault! But you shall not go alone. I am with you yet." And before any of us could interfere, he plunged the knife he still held into his own bosom, and fell over beside her, life-blood streaming from his mouth.64

The motivations and causal factors involved in this murder-double suicide are complex; however, it is apparent that the gamblers were competing for more than diversion and that such competition could not help but lead to open and overt conflict. The drive to compete, to win, to avoid shame is all part of the tragic episode. Among the young Blood of nearly a century ago, as today, lives were not segmented into work and leisure. Success strivings continued on into the night via the hand game.

[57] [181]

Summary

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To conclude this section on the young Blood of the past there are a number of points worth reviewing. In the search for past behaviors that relate to today, a major facet of Blood life came to light: the Blood community. Thompson noted the relevance of this unit in his description of alliances and emotions. Also, one can infer the effect of the Blood-Blackfoot community from the episodes of the war party, the bear story, and from the statement on

martial-looking physiognomies among these men, painted in the strangest manner, marching with a very warlike air. The chiefs wore, for the most part, the uniform received from the Company, made in the fashion of a great coat, with round hats and tufts of feathers, on which they prided themselves greatly, but which disfigured them most lamentably. Their faces, painted of a bright red, surrounded with their thick, lank hair, and surmounted by a round hat with a tuft of feathers, such as our German post-boys used to wear, had such a ridiculous appearance, that we could not refrain from laughing.

After three or four bands of the Blackfeet had been received, they were followed by one of the dangerous Blood Indians, under their chief and medicine man, Natohs (the sun), and these, too, were admitted; after which a detachment of from sixty to eighty of the Gros Ventres des Prairies arrived, who, having likewise brought a horse and some beaver skins as a present, were treated like the others. The chiefs were always welcomed by firing the cannon, and then delivered up their colours, most of which they had received from English merchants, and which were carried before them on long ensign staffs, quite in military style. Mr. Mitchell had attempted, in the preceding year, to dispense with these salutations, but the Indians immediately took offence and were even going to part without transacting any business; for they are extremely punctilious in points of honour.

While the company of Indians were employed in smoking, Mr. Mitchell took Ninoch-Kiaiu (who had always been very faithful and devoted to the Whites and the fur company), into his own room, and presented him with a new uniform, half red and half green, with red and green facings, and trimmed with silver lace; a red felt hat, ornamented with many tufts of feathers; in short, a complete dress, and a new double-barrelled percussion gun. Mr. Mitchell wished particularly to distinguish this man, because he had never been to the north to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. When he had equipped himself in his new uniform, which was worth 150 dollars, and entered the assembly of the chiefs in the court-yard of the fort, it immediately became evident that the distinction conferred upon him made no favourable impression on them; some chiefs who had made presents to Mr. Mitchell, and had not yet received anything in return—for instance, Mehkskehme-Sukahs, could not conceal their feelings; the latter hid his head behind the person who sat next to him, while others hung down their heads, and seemed

[p. 102-A]

lost in thought. When Mr. Mitchell perceived this, he caused it to be intimated to the chiefs, that "they saw how the American Fur Company distinguished its faithful friends; that they, on the contrary, had generally taken their beaver skins to the English; that he, therefore, could not give them much now, but would make every chief a present. That it would be their interest to deal with him in future, like Ninoch-Kiaiu, and then it would be in his power to make them more considerable presents."

Several Indians rose, among whom was Haisikat (the stiff foot, formerly the old head), who, with violent gesticulations, made a long speech. He was brother-in-law to the Bear Chief, and plainly advised him to go home, and keep himself sober, because otherwise something serious might happen. The Blood Indians were offended; they spoke loudly of shooting Ninoch-Kiaiu, between whom and his friends long conferences took place. While this was passing, we saw all the other Indians sit down in half circles before the gate of the fort. The warriors sat on the ground, and, while liquor and tobacco were distributed among them, they sang without ceasing, and sometimes fired their guns. At six in the evening, when we were relieved from these troublesome guests, and hoped to have some repose after the fatigues of the day, a violent dispute arose among the *engagés*, which might have had serious consequences. Blows had been exchanged, and the example which the Whites gave the Indians was not very creditable to them.

AUGUST 11, 1833. [FIELD JOURNAL]

Bartering had gone on late into the previous night and we saw most interesting and comic scenes. Those of the Indians who had drunk too much whiskey became exceedingly affectionate, shaking hands without end and even embracing and kissing us heartily. They traded their furs for whiskey and clamoured for it incessantly. Most entertaining was the sight of a wizened old Indian who was painted grey and had brought a very tame female bear to the fort in order to sell her. He sat down on the ground with his charge, played with her and kissed her repeatedly. The animal was charming and completely tame. Today I bought her for whiskey. Mr. Mitchell then made me the present of a very nice young male to serve as her mate.

In the afternoon at the fort the scenes of bartering and

Below: Stomik-Sosak (the bull's hide), a Blood chief whose son had killed the young *engagé* Martin on August 12, touching off a bloody dispute with Nitoch-Kialu and his band of Piegans. Once the Piegans had finally departed, Stomik-Sosak was able to lead his small band of Bloods into the fort for trading on September 4. *Opposite:* An unidentified Piegan warrior who posed in his elaborately painted elkhide robe, wearing his rifle sheath as a headdress. Bows and guns indicate weapons captured, while enemies wounded or slain are symbolized by hourglass figures. The octopuslike black symbols on the lower skirt are scalps. At his shoulder, the triangular yellow and green figures probably represent horsewhips which always accompanied horses presented as gifts. Thus, this combination of whips and weapons most likely details this warrior's generosity. The numerous horse tracks indicate stolen horses.

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A, [See Category 291, p. 137--Analyst]